(30)

Of Obedience for Conſcience-ſake.

A SERMON

Preach'd at the

ASSIZES

HELD AT

WARWICK.

Auguſt the 7th. 1683.

By *Jonathan Kimberley*, A. M. Vicar of *Trinity Church* in *Coventry*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to His *Majeſty*.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. H.* for *Benj. Tooke* at the Ship in S. *Pauls* Church-yard, and *John Smith* Bookſeller in *Coventry*. 1683.

To the Right Worſhipful *Thomas Lucy* of *Charlcot*, Eſquire; *High-Sheriff*, and *Deputy-Lieutenant* of the *County of Warwick*, &c.

THe ſutableneſs of a Dedication is to be meaſured from the agreeableneſs of the Subject to the Perſon to whom it is directed; If it is to ſue for Defence and Patronage, (which the following Sermon ſtands in need of, (not for the ſubject matter, but for the weakneſs of the handling of it,) it ought to be laid at the feet of ſuch who are eminent for the Vertue it recommends to the World: Now although you are many ways intitled to this Sermon, *as being firſt compos'd, and Preach'd by your command, and by yours, (together with the injunctions of the very Worthy, Loyal, and Judicious* Gentlemen *of the* Grand Inqueſt,) *now publiſh'd in Print, yet the Title upon which it offers it ſelf to your Protection now is, that you are a perſon of exemplary Loyalty, of ſteady reſolutions for the eſtabliſh'd Government in Church and State, which is the deſign of this diſcourſe to promote and defend.*

Soon after I receiv'd your ſummons, to officiate as your Chaplain the laſt Aſſizes, *the diſcovery of the late horrid Conſpiracy determin'd my choice of my ſub-*

ject: I plainly saw that Lenity was no charm against the Witchcraft of Rebellion, and that the factious and restless Spirits of some men in our age, by their Sedition, had made it necessary to have Penal Laws, and to have them duly executed; I thought it might be proper therefore to assert the necessity of the Magistrates being invested with an irresistible Coercive Power: and foreseeing also that many who measure their Religion by their Secular Interest, would be ready to comply so far as to avoid the penalty of the Laws, but at the same time despise Dominion in their Hearts, and secretly speak evil of Dignities; I thought I could not do better service either to them, or the Government, than by laying open this their mistake, in setling Obedience upon the only sure and right foundation, the principle of Conscience, which will engage us to be hearty and sincere in our submission to our Governours, in all times and places.

This is the great security that the Christian Religion gives to the Powers of the World; and this argument the ancient Apologists[1] made use of to recommend it to them, that it allows of no Resistance; that it proposes higher rewards for Obedience, and severer punishments for Disobedience, by binding it as a duty in point of Conscience, than any Sanctions of Humane Laws.

[1] Just. Mart. Apol. 2. ad Anton. Pium. Athenag. Orat. pro Christ. Cypr. ad Demetr.

And herein also the Church of England (above others) has declared her self to be truly Christian, and so

so no Enemy to Cæsar[a], by asserting the Kings Supremacy, and by requiring our obedience to the Magistrate, as ordain'd by God, not only for wrath, but for Conscience sake.

[a] Act. Rev. Reg. Ed. 6. & Act 37 Reg. Eliz.

So that in this discourse I have endeavour'd not only to express the Character of a good Subject; but of a true Son of the Church of England; and to speak properly, none can be the latter, but he must also be the former: And indeed I have so great a veneration for all the doctrines and establishments of that Church, that I think it far more eligible (if God should permit it for our sins) to fall and perish with it, than by any indirect or unwarrantable means to go about to defend it, or to live and triumph in its ruines. And herein I am confident I express not only my own sentiments, but yours also, and the sense of all the Loyal Nobility and Gentry of our Country, which as it gives place but to few other Countrys for their number and quality, so it yields to none for their Loyalty, Unanimity, and Zeal for the establish'd Government. I could not doubt therefore but that a discourse of this nature would be grateful both to you and them; and I am sensible that your Zeal for the Subject has so far biass'd your Judgements, as to cause you to overlook many faults in the managing of it, otherwise you would not have thought it fit for a Publication: But it was not good manners in me to withstand your repeated Commands; and I doubt not

but you aim at the ſame deſign in its Printing for which it was Preach'd; to make men ſenſible, in this reſtleſs and ſeditious Age, of their duty to God and the King, that they cannot truly ſerve the one, unleſs they ſubmit to the other.

If it may be any ways ſerviceable for theſe great ends, for the promoting of Loyalty, Peace, and Religion with any, eſpecially among thoſe that Providence has plac'd me with, I ſhall think my pains well beſtow'd; and it will abundantly recompence the cenſures and ill treatment it is like to meet with from thoſe who are obſtinate and irreclaimable.

That God would ſtrengthen your hands, and proſper you in your undertakings for his ſervice, and give you all the comforts of this life, and of a better, is the hearty wiſh, and prayer of,

Honoured Sir,

Coventry, Aug. 30. 1683.

Your moſt Obedient,

and moſt Humble Servant,

Jonathan Kimberley.

Ro-

ROMANS xiii. 5.

Wherefore you must needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but for Conſcience-ſake.

THe Doctrine of Submiſſion to higher Powers, as it was in an eſpecial manner recommended to the World by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, both by their Precepts and Examples; ſo ought it to be eſteem'd of univerſal obligation, and carefully to be obſerv'd by their followers in all ages: for as there cannot be gather'd either from their words or actions any thing that ſhould limit this duty to any peculiar time or place, ſo they back'd their Injunctions with Reaſons that are perpetual and univerſal, *viz.* the Divine *Authority*, *Uſefulneſs*, and *Neceſſity* of *Government*; and allowing that to be neceſſary, Subjection muſt be ſo too, for they are relative terms, and ſuppoſe each other.

That *Government* in the general is *Neceſſary*, cannot be deny'd by any that conſider what the evil conſequences of an unlimited State would be: We ſee daily even under the confinement of Laws, and where Government is eſtabliſh'd, how difficult it is, notwithſtanding theſe reſtraints, to curb the exorbitance of mens Paſſions, to bridle their Luſts, to bring them into any tollerable temper, to make them only more mild and ſociable than Wolves and Tygers: Under all theſe obligations to, and proviſions for

Peace

Peace and Amity, how many are there, that in deſpight of all the bonds of duty and gratitude; maugre all the frowns or ſmiles of Superiours, the Rewards or Puniſhments annex'd to Laws, that fly out againſt their Governours, and their Brethren, that with more than a ſavage cruelty would, and too often do, devour one another? And if the caſe be ſo under Government, where there are bounds ſet, and puniſhments allotted for Tranſgreſſors, what would be the ſtate and condition of mankind if there were none? If every man were permitted to follow what was juſt in his own eyes, it is to be fear'd, that nothing would ſeem ſo to him, but what was unjuſt, if not cruel to his Neighbour, and confuſion would be the certain conſequence thereof. *Government therefore is neceſſary.*

And as it is *neceſſary* in it ſelf, ſo is it by the *Appointment of God*, who has ordain'd it for the good of
Prov. 8. 15. mankind: *It is by me* (ſays God) *that Kings reign:*
1 Sam. 26. 9. *They are the Anointed of the Lord: He ſets and eſta-*
2 Sam. 5. 12. *bliſhes them in their Thrones.* This he did to the Kings of *Iſrael* under the Old Teſtament in a peculiar manner, but he did not confine his care to them only, but *Gentile* Kings are alſo of his appointment, and even ſuch as were Cruel and Tyrannical; as appears from
Mat. 17. 27. our *Saviours* owning their Power, in paying *Tribute*
22. 17, 18, &c. (an Arbitrary Tax) to them, at the expence of a Miracle, and from the Injunctions of S. *Paul* and S. *Pe-*
Rom. 13. 2. *ter*, who command us to *ſubmit to them as the Ordi-*
1 Pet. 2. 13. *nance of God*, and *to obey their commands for the Lords ſake. Government* therefore is *Neceſſary*, and at leaſt in the general, of *Divine Appointment.*

And that of all Governments, *Monarchical* is the beſt, will appear from hence, becauſe it bears the neareſt reſemblance to the Divine Government, and

beſt

beſt anſwers the ends of it: It is moſt eaſie to the Subject if it be good and gentle, and leſs cruel if it prove Tyrannical. Moſt eaſie, as that Obedience is always where the feweſt command, and ſo conſequently moſt eaſie of all, when we are ſubject to the will and power but of one: If it ſhould be Tyrannical, it would be leſs hurtful, inaſmuch as 'tis better to lye under the laſh of one Tyrant than many, and the rage of a Prince is leſs dangerous to a Kingdom than an *Ariſtocratical fury*, or the uncontroulable violence of an *incenſed Rabble.*

Government being *neceſſary*, and of *Divine Appointment*; and of all Governments, *Monarchical* being the beſt, as bearing the neareſt reſemblance to the Divine Pattern, and being moſt conducive to the Peace and Happineſs of any People: highly reaſonable then, and very beneficial to us, is this doctrine, which S. *Paul* in this Chapter ſets before us, of ſubjection to the higher Powers, that God hath placed over us. The extent of which duty he ſets before us, ver. 1. *That every Soul is to ſubmit to them*; in the following Verſes he inforces his injunction with two Reaſons; the firſt is deriv'd from the original of this power, *it is from God*, ver. 2. *Whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God, and they ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.* In the following verſes, 3, 4. he adds another reaſon, taken from the Authority theſe Powers are inveſted with, If thou doeſt well, thou ſhalt find a reward for thy obedience; but if thou doeſt evil, he is ſent to puniſh thee for the ſame: From both theſe reaſons he infers a neceſſity of ſubjection in the Text. *Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath*, for fear of puniſhment here; but alſo *for Conſcience-ſake:* ye muſt ſubmit to them, as they are the Ordinance of God.

The words are a Precept preſſing us to obedience to higher Powers from a ſenſe of Religion, *not only for wrath, but for Conſcience-ſake.*

They afford us theſe heads.

Firſt, That a ſubmiſſion to thoſe rightful Powers which God hath ſet over us, is our indiſpenſable duty. *Ye muſt needs be ſubject.*

Secondly, That although it is neceſſary that the Supream Magiſtrate ſhould have an abſolute coercive Power, yet neither the bare hopes of a reward, nor the dread of puniſhment in this World, ſhould be the only ground of our obedience. *Not only for wrath.* But,

Thirdly, The only Obedience that ought to be regarded here, or will be rewarded hereafter, muſt proceed from a principle of Conſcience. *For Conſcience-ſake.*

As Corollaries from theſe heads we ſhall inferr:

1. That neither an Atheiſt, nor a vicious Perſon, can be a good Subject from any good ground.

2. That the Laws of the Higher Powers do oblige us to the obſervance of them in point of Conſcience.

3. That no pretences of Conſcience or Religion can authorize any reſiſtance of our Superiours.

1. *That a ſubmiſſion to thoſe rightful Powers which God hath ſet over us, is our indiſpenſable duty,* If we derive the Original of Government either from Paternal right, or from the looſer way of Compact, yet ſtill it carries along with it a neceſſity of ſubjection in thoſe that are under it. He that anciently did, or even now does diſpute his Fathers Commands in things lawful, deſerves correction for it, and he that durſt oppoſe his Father formerly upon any account,

was

was liable to death for his disobedience: [1] the ancient paternal power being despotical.

[1] *Arist. Eth. ad Nich. lib. 8. cap. 10.*

Πατρικὴ ἀρχὴ βούλεται ἡ βασιλεία εἶναι, &c. *Simpl. ad Epic. Ench.* οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ῥωμαίων νόμοι, —— καὶ πιπράσκειν εἰ βούλοιντο τοὺς παῖδας τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐπέτρεψαν, καὶ φονεύειν ἀτιμωρήτως. *Alex. ab Alex. dierum Gen. lib. 6. cap. 10. de leg. 12. Tabularum.*

If we suppose that Government arose from Compact from the Concessions of the people (which hypothesis can never be allow'd as true, in regard that Governours are intrusted with a power of Life and Death, which the People never had, and so could never grant) supposing then, but not granting that Government arose from Compact, it must be allow'd as necessary, in order to the attaining of the ends of Government (Peace and Security) that there must be a Supream Power, and that Power irresistible. In this case, the People must be suppos'd to concenter in him they place over them, to be Umpire among them, and if they will have him any thing more than the bare Image of a Prince, or expect to enjoy under him the ends of Government, Peace and Security, to him must be their final Appeal, and he must be invested with a power to compell them to submit to his determinations.

Furthermore, allowing this supposition of the Origine of Government to be true, yet the deductions which by some are made from it, are very inconsequential: As that the People may resume the Power which they gave, or at least that those who succeed, are not oblig'd to stand to the compacts of their Predecessors; which are not only dangerous Principles, but absurd and false: Nor can it be imagin'd that ever any people should be so foolish as to go about to build any Government on such a sandy foundation, which every storm must overturn, if the People at pleasure may resume their unbounded liberty, which in the foundation of the Government they are suppos'd to

part with; which they can no more do (unleſs they can produce the original Grant, and ſhew the reſerve in it) than an *Hebrew* or *Roman* Slave could regain their liberty at pleaſure; or than that Woman who has bound herſelf to an Husband can be loos'd from the bond of her Husband, which holds during life. Neither are the Son's hands more free than the Father's, to oppoſe the eſtabliſh'd Government; for he that is born of a Subject is as much the Prince's, as he that is born of a Slave is the Maſter's right, and he can no more emancipate himſelf than the Son of the Slave can, nor compell his Governour to ſet him free, any more than a Father among the *Romans* could be conſtrain'd to manumit his Children, which by the Imperial Law is prohibited. For by it *neither Natural nor Adopted Children can compell their Parents to ſet them free.* If therefore we reſpect the original, or end of Government any way, we ought to ſubmit, and 'tis not in our power to free our ſelves.

Juſt. Inſt. lib. 1. Tit. 12. ſ. 10. Neque Naturales liberi, neque Adoptivi ullo modo poſſunt cogere parentes de poteſtate ſua eos dimittere.

But that Subjection is an indiſpenſable duty, I ſhall endeavour to make apparent from theſe following conſiderations:

1. If we conſider the Commands of God, requiring it of us, and the examples of the Primitive Chriſtians, who put it in practice.

2. If we conſider the relation that our Governours have to us, their care in protecting and defending us, it ſhould oblige us to ſubmit to them.

1. *If we conſider the commands of God*, &c. If we look into the Goſpel of Peace, we ſhall find that ſcarcely any duty is more earneſtly preſs'd upon us, than Subjection to our Governours, in order to the obtaining that Peace it propoſes. Our Saviour commands us, to *Render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's*: S. *Paul*'s injunction in the Text, and that which he

Mat. 22. 21.

he gives to *Timothy*, no doubt, were of universal and perpetual obligation. That we should *submit to, and pray for Kings, and all in Authority.* And S. *Peter* confirms the same, with a Proviso to obviate exceptions. [2] *That our obedience must be shewn not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward.*

[1] 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.
[2] 1 Pet. 2. 18. *Quod dicitur subjectionem dominis deberi, etiam duris idem ad Reges quoque referendum, &c. Grot. de jur. B. & P. lib. 1. cap. 4 sect. 4.*

Such was the carriage of the *Jews*, not only to their own Princes while they were in their own land, but also when they were in Captivity, they submitted to, and prayed for the Kings they liv'd under, as may be gather'd from their observance of the Decree of *Darius:* Ezra 6. 10. *In offering Sacrifices of sweet savour unto the God of Heaven, and in praying for the life of the King and of his Sons.* And the like we may read done by them for *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his Son *Balthasar*, *Bar.* 1. 11.

I might produce innumerable instances of the heroical patience, and submission of the Primitive Christians to their Superiours, even when they persecuted them. *Tertul.* in his *Apology* speaks thus: *We* Christians *pray for the Emperors, that their lives may be long, and their reigns secure; that they may have valiant Armies, faithful Parliaments, and an honest and obedient people; that* Cæsar *may have every thing according to his hearts desire.*

Tert. Apol. cap. 30, & 39. Oramus pro Imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, excercitus fortes, Senatum fidelem, populum probum, & quæcunque hominis & Cæsaris vota sunt. vid. ad Scap. cap. 2.

After they had their Religion establish'd by Law, and had strength enough to have resisted, they still submitted to, nay further, they prayed for *Arrian*, and other persecuting *Emperors*. Thus *Athanasius* (that great defender of the Orthodox Faith) submitted to the Emperour *Constantius*, an *Arrian* Persecutor, and would not oppose either him, or any Commissionated by him, by force, for the maintenance of the true Faith, for the defence of which he so unjustly suffer'd.

[1] *Athan. Apol. ad Constant.*

Such

Such was also the carriage of *Ambrosius* to *Valentinus* [1]: The young Emperour being infected by his Mother *Justina* with the principles of *Arrianism*, and by her being stirr'd up severely to persecute S. *Ambrose* and his Church, he knew no other way of resisting, but by supplications, sighs, and tears; these were his only weapons, he durst not use any other Arms against them. Neither did he thus tamely yield for want of power or courage, [2] for he declin'd the assistance of the Rebel *Maximus* against the *Emperour*: and he who so willingly offer'd his life as a prey to his Persecutors, could not want courage to have defended it by force, if he had thought it lawful.

[1] *Ambr. lib. 5. Orat. in Auxen. Coactus repugnare non novi, dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere---- Lachrymæ meæ arma sunt, aliter nec debeo nec possum resistere.*

[2] *Theodoret lib. 5, cap. 13, 14.* Εἰ σοὶ χρεῖναι δοκεῖ ἔνδον ἐπίνευχά μοι τὸ ξίφος, ἢ τῳ αἰχμῳ, ἀσμένως γὰρ δέξομαι τῳ τοιούτῳ σφαγίῳ.--

We see then, by the command of God, the example of the *Jews*, and Primitive Christians, it was esteem'd a duty to submit to their Governours, although they persecuted them, and to pray for them. So that the doctrines of deposing them, of resisting, or conspiring against them upon any pretence, is not of Primitive institution, but the Novel Politicks of such who have not the fear of God before their eyes to engage them to pray to him, or of his Vice-gerent upon Earth, to pray for him.

2. If we consider the great care and concern of our Governours in protecting us, it should in gratitude oblige us to submit to them, to pray for them, that God would defend and direct them, and establish their Thrones.

Those who have had the Protection of the Government for their education, certainly owe so much to their Governours, as Obedience to them, to pray for them, to be ready to assist them with their hearts and hands, in the support of that Government that protected them when they were not able to help themselves.

We

We are too apt to think that we are not at all beholden to our Governours: that no man receives any kindneſs from them but their immediate Favourites and Courtiers; And ſo we think that we may be excus'd if we pay them no ſervice, ſince we do not reckon our ſelves indebted to them: the moſt of men acknowledging no homage due to any, but what they are immediately paid for, nor have a ſenſe of anyother duty than what is mercenary.

To ſuch an Hireling as this, I ſay, that the care of thy Governours (although thou deſerv'ſt it not) is extended unto thee. Is thy Life or thy Property of any concern to thee? That thou art ſafe in the one, and ſecure in the other, thou oweſt to the care and goodneſs of thy Governours: For could'ſt thou think either thy Life or thy Eſtate ſafe in the midſt of violence and rapine? And what hinders mens flying out into theſe Villanies but the reſtraint of Laws, which would be but a dead Letter, unleſs thy Governours gave life to them by the execution of them? Is it no kindneſs to thee that thou art yet Maſter of thy own, and not a Slave to a ſtranger? That thou art not devour'd by a foreign force, or an inteſtine Rabble? Our Land is not ſo contemptible, but that if it were defenceleſs, no doubt, it would be ſought after, and if the defence were left to our own management, we ſhould not be ſecure againſt our Enemies, nor our ſelves.

That our days then are prolong'd, and that we enjoy our places, that our Children are not Fatherleſs, and our Wives Widdows, that they are not Vagabonds, forc'd to begg their Bread, that the Extortioner has not all that we have, and that a Stranger does not poſſeſs our labours; whom can we, or whom ought we to thank for theſe Bleſſings, but, next under God, the

the Prudence of our King and Governours, in the regular adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the wholſome conſtitution of our Laws? Certainly ſuch bleſſings as theſe, require in return our ready ſubmiſſion to, and hearty prayers for thoſe under whom we live ſo peaceably and quietly, and might be more happy in theſe enjoyments if we would our ſelves. The King is the Father of his Country, and the care that he takes for all that are in it is not ſmall: Some men find the Government of a Family to be troubleſome, others experience the burden of adminiſtring of a ſmall Province to be heavy; and can we think that the affairs of a whole Kingdom can be manag'd without great watchfulneſs and care?

We are apt to admire, and to be ſurpriz'd at the brightneſs and glittering gaiety of a Crown, and to think that the Head that wears it muſt needs be free from all pain and trouble. But alas, we know not the weight of the Crown we admire, how it is many times lin'd with Thorns, and preſſes heavy upon the Head of him that wears it; intitles him, as to the homage, ſo to the protection of his people, to provide againſt, and ſecure us from foreign force, and domeſtick Conſpiracies.

If we were acquainted with, and did throughly conſider the troubles and diſquietudes of Princes, the great care they undergo for the good of the People, the great benefits we enjoy under Government, we ſhould not eſteem our ſelves unconcern'd for them, but account it our indiſpenſable duty to pray for them, and obey them.

2 *Prop.* That although it is neceſſary that the Magiſtrate ſhould have an Abſolute Coercive Power; yet neither the bare hopes of Reward, nor dread of Puniſhment in this Life, ſhould be the only ground of

of our Obedience. *Ye muſt be ſubject, not only for wrath.*

1. It is neceſſary that the Magiſtrate ſhould have an abſolute Coercive power. It is not to be expected, ſcarcely to be imagin'd, even in a *Platonick* or *Utopian* Republick, that ever there ſhould be a ſociety of men ſo far devoid of all paſſions and ſelf-intereſt, as readily to ſubmit to their Governours, to obey their Commands, to live in Charity with their Neighbours, and to keep peace with all men, without the proſpect of ſome reward, or fear of ſome puniſhment in this life. This Notion of Obedience is too abſtracted for the moſt of men to apprehend, and this Clue of Loyalty ſo fine ſpun, that it will eaſily be broke, and loſt in the Mazes and Labyrinths of State.

Good Laws therefore, with ſuitable Sanctions, are neceſſary *in Fæce Romuli*, and as they are an ornament to any Government, ſo, when duly executed, they are a ſecurity to it too: For although there may be ſome perſons (as there ought to be many) who may be ſo far in love with Vertue, as to be content to wed her with no other dowry but her own Beauty; who, from a ſenſe of their duty, may continue faithful and obedient unto death, in hopes of a reward hereafter; yet were there more of this ingenuous temper (as it is to be wiſhed there were) how inconſiderable are they to the multitude, who live more by Senſe, than by Reaſon or Faith; whom the innate Beauties and Pleaſures of Vertue can never invite to admire her: who would never deny their luſts, if they could gratifie them without danger, would quickly purſue their Revenge to death, were they not afraid that the Avenger of Blood even in this World would overtake them.

Men may talk of Good Nature, and Right Reaſon; propoſe fair and worthy commendations and deſcriptions of Vertue, and Honeſty, and Loyalty, to invite men to cloſe with them, and poſſibly by theſe motives may perſwade ſome of good underſtandings and honeſt inclinations to do ſo; but ſuch diſcourſes will have as little effect upon the Vulgar, and the Rabble, with whom Government has to deal, as fine words upon an unruly Beaſt, which is to be held in with the Bit and Bridle, leſt he fall upon thee; and is to be kept in the right way with no other arguments, than with a ſtrait rein, and prudent management of the Whip and Spur.

If we take away the Laws then, and if they are not duly executed, they are vertually remov'd, we ſhould find that the Vizor of Honeſty and Religion that is now worn by many, would be quickly pull'd off; that Vice would grow bold and impudent, and walk bare-fac'd among us; that Rebellion, and Murder, and open Violence would become the Nations Laws, inſtead of thoſe of Peace, Honeſty, and Religion, that would preſently be aboliſh'd: Take away the belief of a Hell, one part of the Sanction of Divine Laws, and I fear that moſt men would quickly forget their duty to their God: and remove the puniſhments from Humane Laws, and they would as ſoon forget that to their Prince and Neighbours too.

'Tis therefore the Rods and Axes that in ſome meaſure ſecure the Crown and Scepter; and in this Rebellious Age, Guards have been found to be a neceſſary defence and ſecurity for the perſons of Princes: The Gibbet and the Pillory are ſerviceable inſtruments for the ſupport and maintenance of Government and Property, for the preſervation of mens Lives, their Names, and their Eſtates.

But

But allowing all this to be ſo, that good Laws are neceſſary, and that without Temporal Rewards and Puniſhments men would not obey them, yet all this is no more than what the vices of men have made neceſſary; and it makes no more againſt the other part of the propoſition, than that becauſe the moſt of men are vicious, that therefore it ſhould not be a duty to be vertuous, or that becauſe many men are honeſt only for a good name, or for fear of puniſhment if they ſhould be otherwiſe, that therefore they ought not to be ſo from a principle of Conſcience.

To proceed in proof of the ſecond part of the Propoſition, viz. *That neither the bare hopes of a reward, nor dread of puniſhment in this World, ſhould be the only ground of our Obedience.*

We will ſuppoſe at preſent (which we ſhall afterwards prove more largely) that Loyalty, and Obedience to our Governours, is a duty that God requires of us, and ſo a Chriſtian Grace, and therefore ought to proceed from, and to be meaſur'd by the ſame principle and rule with other Graces, which none will allow to be ſound, if they flow only from a proſpect of Temporal Rewards, or fear of ſuch Puniſhments. He therefore that only obeys his Prince out of hopes of being made great by him, or for fear of ſuffering if he ſhould diſobey him, can no more be ſaid to be a good Subject, than he that prays to God only to be ſeen of men, or keeps his hand from picking his Neighbours Pocket, only for fear of being diſcover'd and diſgrac'd, can be ſaid to be either a good Chriſtian, or an honeſt Man.

Beſides, if we conſider our Obedience to our Prince as a duty which we owe to God, it cannot be ſuch as will be accepted by him, if it proceeds from fear only; for God requires that we pay thoſe duties

we owe to him heartily and ſincerely, with the whole bent of our Will and Affections; but thoſe actions which proceed from fear only, are but [1] mixt actions, and are ſo far from being reckon'd among the actions of Chriſtian graces, that they are not eſteem'd among thoſe of the Vertues of Heathens.

[1] *Ariſt. Eth. ad Nich. lib. 3. cap. 1.* μικταὶ δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τοιαῦται πράξεις, &c.

Furthermore, he that obeys his Prince only from Temporal concerns, his Obedience is uncertain, his Service unſafe, nay, it may be, deſtructive to the Government, if rely'd upon: For if this Mercenary Subject is defeated in his expectation, or any ways diſpleas'd (as haughty and ambitious men ſoon are at their Governours) or if he have a proſpect of raiſing himſelf with ſafety by Rebelling, what ſhould withhold ſuch a man, if he purſues his principles, but to oppoſe and deſtroy his King, to advance himſelf, and to overturn the Government, that he may go unpuniſh'd in ſo doing?

So that from the whole, we ſee that we muſt needs be ſubject *not only for wrath*, for fear of Temporal Puniſhments, or for hopes of any ſuch Reward, which is not the obedience that God requires, or the King can truſt to, but our Loyalty muſt proceed from a ſenſe of duty, and we muſt obey *for Conſcience ſake.*

3. The only Obedience that ought to be regarded here, or will be rewarded hereafter, muſt proceed from Conſcience,

For the right underſtanding of which, we muſt know what Conſcience is, and what it is to act from a principle of Conſcience.

Conſcience is a Power which God hath implanted in the minds of men, whereby they are enabled to compare their actions with the Rule, and either to approve, or condemn them, as they agree,

or

or not agree with the ſame: Now the Rule that Conſcience is to be guided by among Chriſtians, is the revealed Will of God: Whatſoever therefore is in Gods Law commanded, is out of Conſcience to be done, and whatſoever is there forbidden, is from the ſame principle to be avoided; and this is to act from a principle of Conſcience, in conformity to what God requires of us: Whatſoever then is not founded in the law of God, nor derivable from thence, is no matter of Conſcience in it ſelf, but of private Opinion, Scrupuloſity, or Errour.

Now is there any thing in Scripture more plainly commanded than Obedience to Authority, or prohibited under ſeverer penalties than the reſiſting of them. To go no further than this Chapter, *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher Powers, and whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and he ſhall receive to himſelf damnation* (the ſame *damnation* that belongs to the violaters of other ordinances of God) and this doctrine was not only preach'd but practic'd by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and the Primitive Chriſtians, to the aſtoniſhment of their very Perſecutors. [1] *Vid.* 1 Cor. 11. 29, 34. Rom. 3. 8. 1 Tim. 3. 6.

And yet notwithſtanding the plainneſs and ſeverity of theſe Precepts, I know not how it comes to paſs, but ſo it is, that there are many men among us who pretend to walk according to Scripture, and would be accounted the only Conſcientious perſons; yet have no more regard to theſe Rules than if they were Apocryphal to them, and pretend even to Conſcience for the violation of the ſame. They are as free in cenſuring and condemning their Governours, as if it were not written, that [2] *thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the Ruler of thy people: Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods,* [3] *Nor curſe the King, no not in thy thought.* They are [2] Exod. 22. 28. Acts 23. 5. [3] Eccl. 10. 20

as

as ready to oppoſe him upon all occaſions, as if it were not Canonical Scripture, *that whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive damnation.* What Criticiſms, falſe gloſſes, and frivolous diſtinctions are invented, and made uſe of to avoid the force of theſe plain Precepts? the Higher Powers are to be divided into Higher and Lower; the Higher, or Supream, is to be obey'd, *ſay they*, but the lower (although Commiſſionated by the higheſt) may be reſiſted. The King, the higheſt Power, is to be divided, and his Authority may be ſo far ſeparated from his Perſon, as the one may be made uſe of to deſtroy the other When we are expreſly commanded *to ſubmit to the King, and to thoſe that are ſent by him*; and that not only to ſuch as *are good and gentle*, but alſo *to the froward*, and to bear *our ſufferings patiently*, although we ſuffer
1 Pet. 2. *wrongfully*, after *the example of Chriſt*; how many limitations muſt we have before theſe precepts (which were deliver'd indefinitely) can be receiv'd or own'd? If the King be Ungracious, Inſufficient, or Tyrannical, he is ſo far (*ſay ſome*) from being to be ſubmitted to, that he ought to be oppos'd and deſtroy'd. As if *Nero*, and ſome of thoſe that ſucceeded him, were not as Cruel and Tyrannical, as 'tis imaginable any ſhould be, whom they were commanded to obey, and did quietly ſubmit to. I'm confident that if the like Sophiſtry were allow'd to be made uſe of in other caſes, the force of any the plaineſt precepts of Scriture might be eluded, and the moſt deſperate actings by ſuch Arts might be defended thence. But however men by ſuch devices may delude themſelves, and abuſe the World, yet God will not be mocked, nor their Conſciences always ſleep, but will one day try them, and unleſs they repent, condemn them by theſe

plain

plain Scripture Rules, devoid of all their Sophiſtry and deluſion.

Furthermore, he that makes Conſcience of his duty to his Governours, dares not ſo much as curſe them in his thought, much leſs enter into any Leagues, Covenants, or Aſſociations againſt them, be they never ſo ſecret, becauſe his Conſcience, which is the foundation of his Obedience, reſpects a future judgement; he obeys his Ruler, as the Miniſter of God, ſo that although his Treaſonable thought may be conceal'd from the one, yet he knows it cannot eſcape the knowledge and judgement of the other. This is the greateſt ſecurity that any Prince can have from any Subject, that he looks upon Obedience as a neceſſary duty commanded by God, and that ſo long as he has the fear of God before his eyes, he cannot but reverence his Vicegerent upon Earth.

Where Allegiance is founded on Religion, and Loyalty proceeds from Conſcience, it is the ſame in all times and places; it commands our Prayers for the King, and thoſe in Authority, in private as well as publick; that we neither reproach them ſecretly in their proſperity, nor revile them openly in their adverſity; that we be ready with our Hands and Purſes, with our Lives and Fortunes, to eſtabliſh the Throne, to oppoſe the Enemies of God, and the King: This is that Obedience which deſerves encouragement here, but (if attended with other Vertues) will certainly meet with a reward hereafter.

We proceed now to the *Corollaries*.

1 *Coroll.* It follows from hence, that neither an Atheiſt, nor a vicious perſon, can be a good Subject from any good ground.

[1] *Plato lib. 10. de leg.* Θεοὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι κατὰ νόμους, οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε ἔργον ἀσεβὲς εἰργάσατο ἑκὼν, οὔτε λόγον ἀφῆκεν ἄνομον.

[1] *Plato*, in the beginning of his *Tenth Dialogue of Laws*, lays down this Divine Rule, *He that believes the Gods to be according to the Laws, will not be guilty of any evil in word or deed:* i. e. in Scripture language, *he will render to every one their due, to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are Gods*; and without this belief I know not what can with-hold any man from committing the greatest villanies, provided they may be done with secresie and impunity here.

Men may pretend to a sense of Honour, of Moral Gallantry and Honesty, that may secure them from the violations of Natural Laws, and the Laws of Society, and that this may render them as capable of being good Subjects and good Men, as the apprehensions of an over-ruling Deity, and all the Sanctions of Divine Laws, and terrours of Conscience.

I would only ask this question of such *Moralists*, What is the chief end they propose to themselves? for every man must have some ultimate end to which all his actions are to be directed: Now these persons deny any thing of futurity, and so it must be something here. Is it therefore either Honour, Riches, or Pleasure? (the summ of what this World affords) which soever then of these is the end propos'd, all things are to be directed to it, and what should hinder such a Person from committing the greatest impiety, rather than be defeated of his end?

If Honour or Popular Applause be the end they aim at, and if they suppose (as too many of late have thought) that the ready way to it is by opposing the King, and ruining the Church and State, who knows whether they may not (with *Brutus*) pursue it, to the expulsion of the King, and overthrow of the Monarchy, or may not kindle a fire in the

the Temple (with *Eroſtratus*) to get a name?

If riches be the game they hunt after, what ſhould hinder them from running upon deſperate attempts to enrich themſelves, and to repair or increaſe their fortunes (if they have opportunity) out of the Publick Treaſuries, to become Robbers of God and the King, to enrich themſelves, ſince they deny the Being of the one, I know nothing that can ſecure from them (if they have power) the Prerogative or Poſſeſſions of the other?

If Pleaſure be their Deity, and they are wholly devoted to it, what ſhould keep them from ſacrificing all things which ſtand in their way to it? This renders men of ſuch tempers not only uſeleſs, but dangerous to any Society; for if the Government ſhould be uneaſie to them, put any reſtraint upon them in this particular, what ſhould hinder them (if they have conveniency) from endeavouring to caſt off the Reſtraint and the Government together, in hopes of more Liberty, more Pleaſure in another?

If we propoſe theſe queſtions to an Atheiſt, and preſs him to declare the ultimate end of his actions, and the firſt principle of his Obedience to his Governours, if he ſettles not upon the apprehenſions of a God, and the dictates of Conſcience; he muſt at laſt bottom either on Self-intereſt, or on Chance and Caſualty, for his Obedience; and how far ſuch Subjects, acting from ſuch principles, are to be truſted, may be gather'd from what hath been ſaid, and has alſo too lately, and too dearly been experienc'd, than ever (I hope) to be rely'd upon again.

Furthermore, he that profeſſes he knows God, but in his works denies him, is abominable and diſobedient too: The Practical Atheiſt is little leſs dangerous to Government than the Speculative one: He that in

words owns the Being of a God, but at the same time dare live as if there were none, may be ready, with the Traytor *Judas* (who bore the like badge of profession) to seize his *Vicegerent* with a *Hail Master*, and *betray him with a Kiss*.

Highly reasonable then was that observation which *Cyrus* made of his Subjects, or *Xenophon* for him, [1] *That he found those to be his best Subjects, most Loyal, and most Peaceable, who were most Religious.* And it has been the prudence of all Law-makers in the first place to take care for the settling of Religion, as the foundation of Government; supposing that Loyalty is only steady when settled on Piety, and that Obedience only hearty, which proceeds from Conscience.

[1] *Xenoph. de Cyr. Inst. l. 8.* Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τὴν τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ εὐσέβειαν ἑαυτῷ ἀγαθὸν ἐνόμιζε, &c.

Coroll. 2. *We are oblig'd in Conscience to submit to the Laws of the Magistrate:* For if we must be subject to them for Conscience-sake, their Laws must be suppos'd, by vertue of that command, to lay an obligation on our Consciences; and at this time when this precept was given, and a long time after, [2] *the will of the Prince having the force of a Law*, it must be the same thing to be enjoyn'd to submit to his Laws, as to him in point of Conscience.

[2] *Just. Instit. lib. 1. Tit. 2. s. 6. quod principi placuit legis vigorem habuit.*

I have not time, neither would it be needful, if I had, to answer particularly all that is alledg'd against this position, by those Champions for a pretended Conscience against the lawful power of Magistrates, and that use their mistaken liberty for a cloak of maliciousness. I shall only lay down thus much *in thesi*, That he who is the immediate and direct Lord of Conscience, hath in Scripture Charter committed to his Vicegerents on Earth an indirect power over the same; and he who has set us free from the *Jewish* Ceremonies, as essential parts of Worship, hath committed

ted a power to man to make *humane Ordinances*, and has commanded all to ſubmit to the ſame, and that *for the Lord's ſake.* 1 Pet. 2. 13.

If therefore we refuſe to obey thoſe that have rule over us, God will puniſh us for it, and therefore in Conſcience we are bound to ſubmit to them always, and to obey them actively, where God does not interpoſe to the contrary; for even thoſe Humane Statutes which are agreeable to the Divine, oblige the Conſcience by vertue of the Divine Command, which requires this duty of us as we are Subjects of God, and the King: agreeable to that of the Father *Bernard*[1], with which I ſhall conclude this point: *We are equally bound in Conſcience, in the ſame kind of obedience, although not in the ſame degree, to obſerve the Laws of God and the King, if the latter are not repugnant to the former.*

[1] *Bern. de Prac. & Diſpen. c. 12. Sive deus, ſive homo vicarius Dei, mandatum quodcunque tradiderit, pari obſequendum eſt cura, pari reverentia deferendum: ubi tamen deo contraria non præcipit homo.*

Coroll. 3. *No pretences of Conſcience or Religion can authorize our reſiſtance of the lawful Powers which God hath ſet over us.*

The uſual caſes that are alledg'd by Antimonarchical Writers, wherein they hold it lawful to reſiſt Authority, are either *Tyranny*, *Inſufficiency*, or *Impiety* in the Governours; and they ſay, that in theſe caſes it is lawful, nay, a duty to oppoſe, and deſtroy them.

But if this Doctrine were true, what Prince could be ſafe in the Throne, or what People quiet and ſecure in their enjoyments? How many good Princes (ſome as juſt and righteous as ever held a Scepter) have been branded with one, or all theſe marks, by reſtleſs and ſeditious Spirits? What action of State can be ſo order'd, that either Ignorance or Malice will not bring under one of theſe heads? Every execution of Juſtice, every demand of Tribute, or ſup-

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ply of Money upon any occasion, shall be called Tyranny: Every unfortunate event shall be charg'd upon insufficiency: Any Religion that is own'd by the Prince, and setled in the State, be it never so holy and pure, shall by them of another Sect be proclaim'd Impiety: And thus upon every turn the Monarch is liable to be dethron'd, and if he goes about to maintain his ground, he is call'd a Tyrant, and so to be destroy'd. But blessed be God, the true Religion allows of no such practices, he that looks into the Gospel, will find that our *Saviour* has told us, that his Kingdom was not of this World, that the Religion he establish'd was a meek, peaceable, and suffering Religion, promising especial rewards to those who leave Houses or Lands to lay down their lives for Christ's sake: It sets before us the example of our Saviour, who was made perfect through sufferings, and we are commanded to follow his example, in patient suffering for the truth, if it please God to call us to it.

As this was the Doctrine of the Gospel, so I have shewn you that it was the practice of the first Publishers of it, and their successors; they never knew what it was in the Primitive times of Christianity, to oppose, expell, or destroy any Pagan, Persecuting, *Arrian*, or Apostate Emperour; they knew not yet what it was to take up other Arms against their Governours, than their Prayers and their Tears, that they might live peaceably and quietly under them, in Godliness and Honesty [1].

[1] *Greg. Naz. Orat. 1. in Jul.* Τοῦτο μόνον ἐχόντων κατὰ διώκτου φάρμακον.

But how different is this from the carriage of many in our days, who would be thought to be the strictest, if not the only followers of Christ, whose pretences to Religion make way to Rebellion, and their Faith intitles them to Faction.

If

If S. *Paul* had wrote after their manner, or to pleaſe them, he muſt have chang'd the ſtile of his Injunction, and inſtead of commanding *to ſubmit*, have perſwaded them to be ſtubborn, and diſobedient *for Conſcience-ſake*, inſtead of *exhorting them to make Prayers and Supplications for Kings, and all in authority*, that they enter into *Leagues*, *Covenants*, *Aſſociations* againſt them, and under a ſhew of Religion, deſtroy thoſe that would live peaceably and quietly in the Land.

To ſubmit, after the example of our Saviour, *ſay they*, would be the ready way to be deſtroy'd, and Prayers and Tears, the ancient Chriſtian Armour againſt Perſecutors, are now no better than *Mountebank Receipts*, as the late *Apoſtate Author of the Life of* (his elder Brother) *Julian*, calls them, (terms fit only for a Scaffold or a Pillory, and might from thence well enough ſound from the Author, better, I'm ſure, than from the Preſs or Pulpit,) theſe Receipts, *ſay they*, are now ineffectual to cure the diſtempers of the Government, and therefore they hope they may be excuſed if they uſe ſome more violent remedies, and deſtroy the *Peace* and *Government*, to eſtabliſh *Anarchy* and *Confuſion* (which they call Godlineſs and Religion). Nay furthermore, the ſame Author and his Party tell us, and we are beholden to them for the diſcovery (for it is a Mine newly ſprung againſt the Government) that we have Law on our ſides now, and 'tis current doctrine with them, that where the King perſecutes againſt Law, he may be oppos'd and deſtroy'd.

In anſwer to which vain and impious Plea (for ſo it has been fully made appear to be, in the Life of *Jovian*) I would propoſe this *dilemma* to ſuch perſons, who think they may reſiſt, if a good Authority Perſecutes

ſecutes them againſt Law, and deſire their anſwer: Did our *Saviour* ſuffer againſt Law, or according to Law? If according to Law, what made *Pilate* to pronounce him Innocent, and declare that he found no cauſe of death in him? If againſt Law, why did he not reſiſt? He did not want ſtrength, for he could with a word ſpeaking have called down Power enough from Heaven to have deſtroy'd his Perſecutors againſt Law; and certainly if he intended any ſuch liberty for Chriſtians, he would not have given ſuch an example by his ſufferings to the contrary, and oblig'd all his Diſciples, by an expreſs command, to tranſcribe the Copy he had ſet them, and follow his example.

Mat. 27. 23, 24. Luke 23. 4. Jo. 18. 36, 38. Mar. 16. 24, 25. Jo. 12. 26. 1 Pet. 2. c. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

So that upon the whole we muſt conclude, that either our *Saviour* died as a Malefactor, according to Law, or elſe that he ſuffering againſt Law, did too tamely ſubmit, betray'd his followers, and his example is not to be imitated by us; either of which are little leſs than blaſphemous, and fit for none but a *Julian*, or the *Author of his Life* to affirm. And thus much ſhall ſuffice for the Propoſitions and Corollaries.

What remains? But that we all apply our ſelves to endeavour the ſupport of the Government, and in our ſeveral places and ſtations ſtudy to keep a good Conſcience, and faithfully to diſcharge that truſt which God and the King have committed to us: You, *my Lords*, and *All that are in Authority*, by a ſteady and impartial execution of Juſtice, and all of us by a Conſcientious ſubmiſſion to our Prince, and obedience to his Laws.

Let us be thankful to God, who has eſtabliſh'd ſo juſt and rightful a *Government* among us, and hath ſet ſo gracious a *Prince* to rule over us, who as he had

greater

greater injuries than any of his Predeceſſors to forgive, ſo God endued him with a Clemency fitted for the ſame: Although he might juſtly have reſented the evil carriage of his Subjects towards him in the days of his Exile, yet at his return he was ready to forget all, to receive them as Friends, who had been ſo bitter Enemies, and in much mercy to forgive them more than they could expect or deſerve; God grant that they may be truly ſenſible of it, and thankful and obedient to God and the King for it. He ſtill treats his Subjects with the kindneſs of a Father: Whoſe Oxe hath he taken? Whoſe Vineyard hath he coveted? Or whom doth he in any kind oppreſs? He is pleas'd to oblige himſelf to walk by the ſame Law with his Subjects, and if at any time he ſteps beſide it, of his own motion, 'tis to abate the rigour and ſeverity of it: And indeed the yoak of his Government is ſo eaſie and gentle, that it tempts ſome, *I fear*, to grow wanton under ſo light a burden, and to endeavour to caſt it off from their Necks: Strange it is, that men ſhould be ſo careleſs and diſingenuous as to neglect to be thankful for, nay, to abuſe both God's and the King's mercies, by ſinning againſt the one, and by murmuring and conſpiring againſt the other.

To conclude then, if we are ſenſible of the bleſſings we enjoy in the liberty of the true Reform'd Religion, in oppoſition to Superſtition and Profaneneſs; if we are truly ſenſible of the bleſſings of Government in general, in oppoſition to Anarchy; of a good and gracious Government, in oppoſition to Tyranny; let us be heartily thankful to God, who has wonderfully deliver'd our *King* from the hands of violent and bloody men, *Sons of Belial*, that conſpir'd againſt him; that he has hitherto preſerv'd his

his *Church* from the insolent incursions of *Sacriledge* and *Prosaneness*, and the whole Kingdom from *Blood* and *Devastation*.

If therefore Decency and Order in the Church and State, be better than Anarchy and Confusion; If Liberty and Property be better than Oppression and Tyranny; If Peace be better than War, and Life than Death, let us be thankful and Obedient, that it may be well with us, and our Posterity. *Let us fear God and the King, and meddle not with those that are given to change: let Judgment run down like water, and Righteousness like a mighty stream*; that the Throne may be establish'd, our Religion defended, our Lives secur'd, and our Peace continu'd. And let us all in an especial manner put up our hearty *Prayers* and *Supplications* to God *for the King, and for all that are in Authority*; that God would direct, and defend them, and *that under them we may lead peaceable and quiet lives, in all Godliness and Honesty.*

FINIS.